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TITO REPORT TO LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

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TITO REPORT TO LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

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[Text of report "Sixty Years of the Revolutionary Struggle of the LCY" submitted by President Tito to a joint festive session of the LCY Central Committee, the Yugoslav Trade Union Council, the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation Conference and the Presidium of the Conference for Questions of the Social Position of Women of Yugoslavia held at the Great Hall of the Sava Congress Center in Belgrade on 19 April]

[Text] Comrades: We have gathered here today to mark the 60th anniversary of the forming of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the union of Yugoslav youth, the revolutionary trade unions and the progressive movement of women. In the revolution, which is continuing--because the struggle for further progress is an uninterrupted revolutionary process--these kinds of jubilees are primarily an impetus for continuing it since every genuine revolution must keep returning to its origins and experiences. Today, we are recalling the long and glorious path of our party in order to perceive even better and more comprehensively our tasks in the immediate future, to consolidate even more the unity of our ranks in the magnificent struggle for the freedom and independence of people, for socialist self-management in our country and for social progress and human happiness.

It is necessary to recall the path we have traversed because the people's awareness is frequently burdened by everyday problems which normally accompany every dynamic development. For this reason, the greatness of the revolution and the radical transformation of the country and society which we have achieved is sometimes forgotten. This reminder is necessary because there are still people who try to disparage what has been achieved and thus hamper socialist self-managing development. This great jubilee is an opportunity to recall the most important stages of our 60-year struggle filled with constant battles and enormous casualties, temporary retreats and decisive victories.

The formation of the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1919 represents a historic turning point in the age-old struggle of the people's masses of our country against national oppression, social exploitation and for a better and happier life for the working people. Viewed historically, six decades are not a long period of time. However, this is a period in which social changes were brought about through the revolutionary action of the Communist Party, or rather the League of Communists--social changes of epochal importance. Suddnely, from being a backward country in every respect, as Yugoslavia was before the war, the SFRY became an industrially and agriculturally developed country--a free, self-managing community of equal peoples and nationalities.

I.

Resistance to Factions was Inspired by the Aspiration of the Party To Be More Resolutely Open Toward the Workers Class and Other Working Strata

Comrades, the Yugoslav Communist Party developed from the revolutionary nucleus of the socialist movement and from the social democratic parties that appeared at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century in the lands of present Yugoslavia. Operating under the conditions of the very slow development of the capitalist way of production and of the modern workers class, these parties entered the period of great crisis of the world capitalist system which began with World War I without any great revolutionary traditions. Only the great revolutionary shocks in the final stages of the war on which the Great October Revolution set the final seal opening the epoch of a socialist transformation of the world and then the spontaneous movements of the masses in certain countries, particularly in the Yugoslav lands, set in motion the process of ideological seething and the strengthening of the revolutionary wings in these parties. Under the influence of these factors, as early as at the unification congress, or rather the founding congress of the Yugoslav Socialist Workers (Communist) Party, the orientation toward adopting the revolutionary path of social changes had won. This was also expressed in the party's joining the Third Communist International which was then formed.

However, the party did not elaborate the concept of revolutionary struggle which would be based on actual social and national factors which made the situation of that time revolutionary. This particularly refers to the national and peasant problem. The national problem was reduced to a constitutional problem, while the peasant problem was not even on the party program until 1928. Although it quickly developed into a mass and a very influential political force in the country, the Yugoslav Communist Party did not have sufficient strength to resist the regime's attacks.

This was to a great extent the result of the objective conditions. The common state of the peoples of Yugoslavia betrayed their aspirations and expectations. This state was formed and built in an atmosphere of a brutal suppression of the evolutionary mood of the people's masses. The ruling bourgeoisie, primarily the great-Serbian bourgeoisie, took the road of building a system of the grossest possible exploitation, national oppression and political lawlessness. It goes without saying that the first condition for achieving this was the settling of accounts with the revolutionary workers movement and its vanguard, the Communist Party. The Law on the Protection of the State proclaimed the activity of the Communist Party a crime, while communists were sentenced to long prison terms and were even treacherously executed.

The ideological maturing of the Communist Party and the finding of the correct roads of the revolutionary struggle represented an enduring and difficult process. This process was hampered not only by the remnants of the ideological inheritance of Social Democratic reformism, but also by dogmatism, which also burdened the leadership of the world communist

movement--the Comintern--very early on. This dogmatism was particularly expressed in the well-known plan regarding two stages of the revolution, something that diverted our party from the actual problems. It is well known that the assessment that conditions were ripe for a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Yugoslavia originated from the Comintern--from the document of its fifth congress in 1928, and this had a negative effect on the activity of the Communist Party. It is also well known that the Comintern stubbornly insisted later that we not raise the question of social system during the national liberation war for, allegedly, this would be a part of the second stage, which would follow after the defeat of the Axis powers. The Yugoslav Communist Party opposed this assessment in practice. It was impossible to lead the masses in a liberation war without clearly presenting them with a revolutionary prospect. In this connection the correct position of the Yugoslav Communist Party on the national problem played a great role.

When the ideological and political maturing of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the elaboration of its revolutionary program are involved, one should bear in mind several phases through which this process passed.

Immediately after the Obznana [the Yugoslav Government proclamation banning the Communist Party] in 1920 and the Law on the Protection of the State of 1921, which inflicted severe blows on our party, a start had to be made practically from the beginning. The few communists who remained consistent with the revolutionary path began a struggle to adopt the organizational and ideological principles of building an illegal party cadre and to find suitable forms for linking this party with the workers class and other working strata. In this connection and on the basis of problems pertaining to the program, a fierce ideological struggle began in the party leadership. These problems also were the substance of the national party conference held during the 1921-24 period.

Although the bases of the revolutionary party were laid at that time, in practice progress was slow. The greatest damage was caused by the well-known factional struggles in the party leadership. The sharp conflict of two factions, a left and a right one, which formed in the period in which the basic ideological, political and organizational questions were clarified, assumed more and more an unprincipled character and boiled down to a struggle for the leading positions in the party. These conflicts, particularly in the period between the third and the fourth congresses, practically paralyzed the party's political activity and brought it to the brink of a split.

The revolutionary course within the party, which appeared at that time as a reaction to the factional struggles in its leaderships--and the proponents of this course were workers-communists--led to a settling of accounts with the factions. The eighth city conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party in Zagreb in 1928 had a particularly important place in this connection. This resistance to factions was inspired by the aspiration to make the party more resolutely open toward the workers class and other working strata, to make it abandon the past plotting and sectarian methods, to make it transfer its activity to the working masses and to make it organize and lead these masses in actions for their everyday demands.

An increasingly wider revolutionary-democratic and antifascist movement of the masses was created around the party.

However, at that time this new course did not as yet prevail in the life and activity of the party. The 6 January dictatorship followed soon afterwards and brutally attacked the Communist Party. Its best cadres perished as victims of terror and many others were sentenced to long prison terms at hard labor. The sectarian course of the party, expressed in the slogan of armed uprising, contributed considerably to this.

It is known that during the years of the dictatorship the party was organizationally split and had a truncated leadership which moved abroad from where it could not effectively direct the work in reviving the party organizations and their political activity. However, thanks to the organizations of communists primarily in workers' centers, the party was able--despite all difficulties and obstacles--to continue the struggle for the adoption of a new course. It was mainly those party activists who were serving hard labor prison terms and those who were developing and steeling themselves in the everyday struggle of the workers class--and to whom factionalism and sectarianism were alien--who became the promoters of this course. They knew how to rally new fighters and broaden the party's political influence in connection with the real problems and demands of the workers class.

The orientation toward creating a people's front adopted at the seventh Comintern congress in 1935 contributed particularly to broadening the party's political platform. The party's intensive activity along this line, particularly during the campaign for the 5 May 1935 elections, marked the party's first major penetration into the political life of the country. The aspiration for consolidation and successful political action was expressed in an increasingly more resolutely emphasized demand to eliminate the discord that had existed between the organizations in the country and the leadership abroad for many years. At that time the predominant part of the leadership was made up of cadres which spent a long time as emigrees abroad. Many of them were burdened by factionalism and even careerism which developed within the system of the Comintern bureaucratic apparatus. The first radical break in this respect was made with the decision of the 1936 Moscow consultative conference of the leading aktiv of the Yugoslav Communist Party to move the leadership to Yugoslavia and with the measures which were implemented to this end. Regardless of all the risks of illegal work under conditions of police persecution, we considered the presence of the leading cadres in the country as a question of principle as well as a political question.

What was the most significant feature of the party's activity at that time? This was undoubtedly the fact that we elaborated, in accordance with the conditions in our country, a concept of the struggle that was based on the recognition of the inevitability of an early revolution. Thus, the period began in which our party succeeded in clearly formulating its views and positions on all those problems that existed in the country's social life and in moving the masses to the struggle to solve these problems. These were great problems ranging from those which directly concerned the position

of the workers class and the million-strong working peasantry through the demands for a democratization of political life and for a solution of the national question to the defense of the country's independence, which was threatened more and more as a result of an increased aggression pressure by the fascist forces.

Proceeding from this, the party was opening itself toward all the opposition bourgeois parties and offered cooperation with them, cooperation which was rejected by their leaderships. However, with this activity the party influenced the process of differentation among large strata of the people, encouraging their increasingly more visible leftward movement as well as a resistance against the reactionary policey of the ruling regime. It was on this basis that an increasingly broader revolutionary-democratic antifascist movement of the people was created around the party.

We persevered in the Complex Struggle To Eliminate the Crisis of Our Party's Position in the Comintern During the Period of Stalinist Purges

Of course, the condition for all this was that the party itself should be organizationally and ideologically-politically united to the greatest possible extent. For this reason it was the questions of internal consolidation that were at the center of our attention. We resolutely parted with everything that was factional and bureaucratic. As regards the provision of material support for the party's activity, we relied exclusively on the sources within the country, within our workers and antifascist movement. We persevered in the complex struggle to eliminate the crisis of our party's positions in the Comintern and the danger of dissolving our party during the period of Stalin's purges. In the country we organized party schools and courses. We destroyed the remnants of sectarianism. With mass political work and by strengthening the party's influence we created the possibilities for increasing its ranks in mass proportions, for transforming its organizations into the leading force of the political actions of the masses. We embarked on a road of forming the national organizations of the Communist Party, to emphasize also in this manner the unity and individisibility of the struggle for that which is social and that which is national, showing to the masses the only possible road for achieving national equiality.

The union of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia had a special role in the struggle to form a broad revolutionary-democratic movement. The most militant and the most numerous part of the party membership and of prominent party aktivists was recruited from the ranks of the youth, especially during the years of the dictatorship. For this reason we resolutely abandoned the practice of many years of keeping the Union of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia as a narrow and numerically small organization and embarked on a road of rallying and activating the masses of youth. The transformation of the Union of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia into a mass organization was accelerated and this union grew into the militant nucleus of a broad youth movement.

Victory Over the Occupier Implied a Victory Over the Domestic Bourgeoisie, a Victory of the Socialist Revolution

The helplessness of the ruling bourgeoisie to eliminate the causes of the permanent crisis ahaking the old Yugoslavia became more and more pronounced during the years immediately preceding and at the beginning of World War II.

The process of isolation of the bourgeois political parties from the people became more and more accelerated and the culmination of this process came in the wake of the Cvekovic-Macek agreement and the dissolution of the united opposition bloc, being united only in the struggle against the revolutionary workers movement and the Yugoslav Communist Party. The leaderships of these parties naturally were neither prepared nor able to solve the internal problems and contradictions and find a way out under the conditions of an increasingly more direct threat of aggression by the fascist forces.

Simultaneoulsy with the deepening of the political crisis of the bourgeois system, the Yugoslav Communist Party elaborated its program of the struggle for democratization and for the defense of the country's independence. The Fifth National Conference of the Yugoslav Communist Party held in October 1940 occupies a special place in this respect; it demonstrated that the party advanced in a state of readiness and without hesitation to meet the events which were fateful not only for the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities but also for all of mankind.

This was best confirmed by its role in the stormy Marow events which followed as an answer to the Cvetkovic-Macek government's capitulating act of accessionsion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the tripartite pact. Emphasizing the necessity of deep internal democratic changes as a prerequisite for strengthening the country's defense capabilities, the Yugoslav Communist Party held no illusions about defense capabilities of the army of the old Yugoslavia in view of the capitulating stand of the ruling circles.

At the time of the aggression of the fascist forces and also long before that the party took all the measures to fulfill its patriotic duty; when the Yugoslav Army collapsed, the party accelerated even more the organization of the struggle against the occupier and his domestic servants. Its basic programmatic conept from before the war--the struggle for democratization and the struggle for defense of independence--grew after the occupation into a platform of the struggle against the occupier, for the liberation of the country and for the revolutionary transformation of society. For the Yugoslav Communist Party this was the moment that marked the inevitability of an historic change of the leading class forces in Yugoslav society.

In this connection the Yugoslav Communist Party did not emphasize the slogan of socialist revolution. It declared itself in favor of a broad national liberation front and was the initiator in gathering all patriotic forces on the platform of struggle against the occupier and its domestic collaborators. The party's insistence on the basic national obligation of all true patriotic forces to defend their country and the party's course in

creating a general liberation front accelerated the process of a differentiation in the masses and their gathering around the party program.

What we never deviated from, either in the period of the preparations or during the armed liberation struggle, was the determination to open the prospects for the broad people's strata of Yugoslavia that with the liberation struggle they would realize their age-long social and national aspirations, that there was no turning back. This awareness on the part of the masses was only possible under the condition that the armed actions of the partisan detachments be accompanied from the very beginning by a corresponding democratic activity by the masses that would insure this. For this reason, along with the first successes of the armed actions, organs of authority of the armed people--the national liberation committees--were created in the place of the old organs of authority which placed themselves in the service of the occupier. At the same time, with the activity of the national leadership of the party in preparing and initiating the uprising, and with the creation of the national military and political leaderships of the uprising, the national liberation movement demonstrated in practice at the very beginning the path for solving the national question and for settling the relations between the peoples and nationalities on the bases of brotherhood and equality.

The successes of the armed liberation struggle throughout the country--as early as in the summer of 1941 it assumed the proportions of a general people's uprising and at the end of that year we already had 80,000 fighters, which represented a unique example in enslaved Europe--confirmed the correctness of the Yugoslav Communist Party's line and had a decisive influence on the further process of political regrouping. The political leaderships of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie opposed the uprising more and more openly. Naturally, it was not accidental that the government in exile, after the armed attack by Mihajlovic's Chetniks on the partisan forces in Serbia in November 1941, proclaimed his detachments as "the royal army in the country" and Draza Mihajlovic its minister of army and navy.

With a widening of the front of collaboration, in which all leading forces of the old society lined up in one way or another, the already complex conditions under which the liberation struggle was developing became even more difficult. With armed activity against the uprising and with propaganda on postponing the struggle "for more favorable conditions" these forces contributed considerably to the successes in some places of the first occupier's offensive against the hotbeds of uprising in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Slovania in the first year of the national liberation war. Despite this, the government in exile ensured the moral and material support of the Western powers for the Chetniks. For this reason the national liberation movement remained without any support and assistance from abroad in the first years of the war.

However, despite this fact, neither the occupier nor the forces of the domestic bourgeoisie achieved their goals. The occupier found in our country a front of war which it did not expect. The attempt of the domestic bourgeoisie to isolate the Yugoslav Communist Party from the people by

provoking a civil war suffered a defeat. The domestic bourgeoisie also moved along the road of an open national betrayal from which there was no return. Thus it linked its destiny, the destiny of the ruling system, with the destiny of the occupier. For this reason the victory over the occupier also meant a decisive victory over the domestic bourgeoisie--a victory of the socialist revolution.

Decisions of the Second AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslav] Session Marked the Birth of New Yugoslavia.

Under these conditions the Yugoslav Communist Party, consistently developing the policy and strategy of the national liberation struggle, also removed the danger of diverting the uprising along the line of a civil war. This course was possible primarily because the party was already at the head of a strong liberation movement and because it had already affirmed itself in the broad people's strata as the sole true patriotic force. The party stressed the unity of the struggle against the occupier and against the forces of the old system united in a national betrayal. It is on this basis that it waged a struggle against the domestic bourgeoisie and its leading center in emigration, headed by the government in exile and the king.

At the end of 1942 great victories were won. The highest expression of these victories was the formation of AVNOJ as the general political body of the national liberation movement. At that time the authority of the national liberation committees, which the people adopted as their own basis for the new state organization, the outlines of which could be clearly seen at that time, functioned throughout the country in an organized manner. It is well known that at the founding AVNOJ congress we gave up--at the Comintern suggestion--our intention to proclaim the setting up of the highest legislative executive bodies. However, we did not fail to condemn the treacherous exile government in the documents of the first AVNOJ session and express the determination of the national liberation movement to resolutely resist its efforts to restore the old, outdated system.

Just as in elaborating the political platforms and the strategic directions of the liberation struggle, the Yugoslav Communist Party also found original solutions in creating and developing the armed forces and in waging the liberation war. These also are the roots of our present system of all-people's defense. The timely solutions at every stage of the development of the war and revolution were also of decisive importance. The decisions of the Stolice Conference in September 1941, the decision on forming divisions and corps of the National Liberation Army in November 1942 and the decision on forming armies in the closing stage of the war were of this nature. Throughout this time the Yugoslav Communist Party was, with its leading role in our army, the guarantee for its high moral and combat values and for all its victories.

The Unity of the Yugolsav Communist Party and the Unanimous Support of the People in Resisting Stalinist Pressure

The great battle on the Neretva River and at Sutjeska and other victories won during 1943 marked a turning point in the development of our war and revolution. At that time the National Liberation Army developed into a strong army capable--within the framework of general efforts of the anti-Hitlerite coalition--of bringing the war on our soil to final victory. The truth about the struggle of our peoples finally found its way to the world. Our army was recognized as an allied army; the Allies agreed to give material help to it and to establish battle cooperation with it. The forces of the traitorous domestic bourgeoisie were defeated. Our party's policy triumphed in creating the unity of the broadest strata of the people and the brotherhood of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities in the liberation and revolutionary struggle. This found its expression particularly in the mass organizations of the National Liberation Front, the United Federation of the Antifascist Youth and the Antifascist Front of Women of Yugoslavia. The new organs of authority--ranging from the national liberation committees, which passed their tests under brutal war conditions, to the highest national political bodies--were the result of the struggle of the people and of the right, won by the people, to decide their fate on their own.

Based on these victories, the historic decisions of the second session of the AVNOJ on 29 November 1943 marked a revolutionary change of authority and the birth of the new Yugoslavia. This time we informed no one abroad because we were firmly convinced that this was demanded by the interest of our liberation struggle and revolution as well as the interest of the antifascist struggle as a whole. Many of those beyond the borders of our country were not pleased by these decisions. It is also known why this was so and thus it is not at all accidental that even today they still openly attack these decisions. All our peoples and nationalities had already unambiguously declared themselves in favor of the Jajce decisions by their armed struggle and by their sacrifices. In addition to this, the entire world knows that we did not win the new Yugoslavia at a conference table, but rather we won it on the battlefield where every tenth person in our country died. It is also known that by the end of the war our army had 800,000 fighters.

One of the most complex problems our party was engaged in solving during the final stage of the war was the question of international recognition of the new Yugoslavia and of insuring its future. This is particularly true in view of the agreement between Churchill and Stalin about the division of the spheres of influence in Yugoslavia. Because of the relationship within the anti-Hitlerite coalition we moved toward an agreement between the national liberation committee of Yugoslavia and the reconstructed exile government. It is known how these things further developed. The agreement, in fact, resulted in a further disintegration in the camp of counterrevolution and in strengthening the unity of the people around the Yugoslav Communist Party. An intensive activity in building the new state organization on the basis of the AVNOJ decisions was continued in the final stage of the war. The system of the new people's authority was broadened and strengthened. The republican governments were formed. The main drive of the revolution was shifted to the economic sphere, to creating the

conditions for changes in property relations. In a word, it is an historical merit of our party that, thanks to the incomparable heroism and self-sacrificing devotion of communists, it brought the national liberation struggle to its final victory and secured the essential prerequisities for the socialist development of new Yugoslavia.

Comrades: Two basic strategic directions were clearly prominent in the policy of the Yugoslav Communist Party in the years immediately following the liberation: The struggle for the reconstruction of the war devastated country and for the country's emergence from its inherited backwardness and the struggle to preserve its independence. This represented the tasks of insuring the continuity of our revolution expressed in the struggle of our party for socialist self-managing and nonalined Yugoslavia.

The undeveloped state of the material production forces and of the entire social superstructure and especially the great war devastation represented a very serious obstruction to the development of new social relations. Supported by the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people, the party mobilized the large popular masses in the country's reconstruction and then also in fulfilling the voluminous development tasks envisaged by the First 5-Year Plan.

A great obstacle to these efforts was the international relations developing in the cold war atmosphere and, in this connection, the difficult international position of our country. Following the pressure from the Western powers as early as at the end of the war and especially during the well-known Trieste crisis, the Cominform attack came in June 1948 and quickly assumed the proportions of a fierce campaign against the Yugoslav Communist Party and against our country which lasted several years. Stalin's policy of subordinating the communist parties within the Comintern during the years on the eve of World War II found its crude expression after the war in relation to our country. It was hegemonism that was behind the slogan about the need for the monolithic unity of socialist countries.

As early as during the years before the war and especially during the war the Yugoslav Communist Party resisted the aspirations to subordinate its policy to the interests of Stalin's global strategy. As I have already said, we did not accept the thesis of "two stages of the revolution" and boldly cleared the roads of the victorious socialist revolution in the national liberation war in accordance with our conditions and the aspirations of the workers class and the people. It was as a result of this that the real independence of new Yugoslavia was insured and that the policy of division of spheres of interest in our country met with complete failure. From these positions the Yugoslav Communist Party resisted Stalin's efforts to establish his control over Yugoslavia. And when the Cominform resolution came, the Yugoslav Communist Party offered resolute resistance and persisted in this despite the campaign, economic blockade and military and other pressures which lasted several years.

The unwavering unity of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the unanimous support of the people in the resistance against Stalinist pressure enabled our country to withstand all trials and overcome all difficulties. The Yugoslav communists found the right answers regarding the causes of the crisis in the international workers movement resulting from the Cominform resolution and the anti-Yugoslav campaign. All the essential questions of theory and practice of socialism--the questions about state property and property in socialism in general, about the dictatorship of proletariat as a state of the transitional period, about the process of the withering away of the state, about the socialist social relations, about the place and role of the party, about the relations between the socialist countries and the communist parties, about the international relations and the road of struggle for peace and so forth--were quickly opened up.

Seeking answers to these questions, our party elaborated the theoretical foundations of the future struggle for the development of socialist social relations in our country on the basis of self-management. At the same time it asserted its views in the struggle for peace, cooperation on the basis of equality and new international political and economic relations in the world, something that later found a strong expression in the nonalined policy.

II.

The LCY Program Is a Document Which Will Be the Road Sign for Our Socialist Self-Managing Development for a Long Time to Come

Comrades: It is an historical merit of our party that it was reasserted the ancient slogan of the workers movement, the slogan of "factories to the workers."

The transfer of state enterprises to management by the working collectives in 1950 represented a decisive step in clearing the road for a free development of socialist socioeconomic relations.

In the early years of socialist construction, when we introduced the system of state management to the economy, we knew that we were not thereby establishing any kind of ideal socialist relations. We knew that this was only the beginning of a period of transition to a new society and that these relations would necessarily have to be further developed. Our own practice as well as the practice of others quickly showed us that, if it were retained longer than necessary, such a system of relations would more and more hamper the development and bar the way to the prospect of society's progress toward a free association of direct producers which represents the ultimate aim of the socialist revolution and the historical mission of the workers class. Accordingly, the system of state management had to yield its place to the system of workers' self-management. As the classics of Marxism, too, had foreseen, the state had to begin to wither away in the administration of the affairs of social reproduction.

Of course, even though we had a clear view of principle, we could not immediately establish such relations as we have now. However, it was essential for the workers to begin to manage their work and its results. Thus the

workers gained the necessary experience in self-managing practice and became more and more aware of the fact that their material and social position depends on themselves. This was simultaneously also the condition enabling them to gradually take over the administration of all affairs in society, to build higher and higher forms of socialist self-managing social relations.

Reviewing today the entire road traversed in the development of self-managing socioeconomic relations, we can say that we did not always find the right measure for reducing the economic functions of the state to those functions which are really necessary. There were many reasons for this. In the League of Communists, too, we were not always unanimous in our views on the **role of** the state in the economy. The centralization of the state functions as well as of a decisive part of the resources for financing expanded reproduction in the federation was particularly great and this prevented the republics and provinces from being directly responsible both for their own as well as for the joint development. This is particularly true because the center did not always pay sufficient attention to the economic equality of the republics and provinces, their specific conditions and their different interests. True, in the LCY program and especially at the Eighth [LCY] Congress we adopted the correct views in principle about all this but in practice some failed to consistently adhere to them. In the third connection I want to emphasize that the LCY program is an historic document of our party which will be the road sign for our socialist self-managing development for a long time to come.

With the 1963 Constitution and the 1965 economic reform we moved more resolutely toward reducing state control and decentralizing state functions. In this manner we accorded the producers greater scope to make decisions, on the basis of self-management, about the general conditions of work and business operations as well as about development questions. But even at that time we did not sufficiently insure ourselves against the usurpation of the functions of decisionmaking by management leaders in the composite work organizations, in foreign trade, in banks and the like. The relations between the republics and the provinces on the one hand and the federation on the other, too, were no longer in accord with the need and achieved level of social development. The federation's legislative functions were still overemphasized. The republics and provinces did not play an appropriate role in determining the joint policy and the resources for its implementation. It was in this situation that the well-known phenomena of technocratism, bureaucratism, liberalism and nationalism and other similar deformations appeared. It was only after the 1971 constitutional amendments and the establishment of unity in the League of Communists following the 21st LCY Presidium session that the conditions were created for a definite settling of accounts with the promoters of all these negative phenomena and for a more consistent development of the self-managing system. If we had failed to do this, we would have come into conflict with the aspirations of the workers class.

The 1974 Constitution and the Law on Association Labor definitely and finally shaped the system of socialist self-managing socioeconomic and political relations and opened clear prospects for their futher development. [paragraph continues]

The constitution also regulated new relations in the federation. The 10th and the 11th LCY congresses also determined and elaborated the tasks of the League of Communists and of other socialist forces in implementing the constitution and carrying out the Law on Associated Labor in practice.

The Conditions Have Been Created for the Workers to Really Become the Subjective Factor of Decisionmaking on All Questions of Social Reproduction

As is known, the foundation of the entire system of socioeconomic relations is the position of the workingman which enables him--while working with resources in social ownership and as a free worker and an equal with other workers within associated labor--to manage his work as well as the conditions and results of his work. In this connection the basic organizations of associated labor have become the basic form of association of labor and pooling of resources within which the workers decide on the entire income and realize their other self-managing rights. This naturally also concerns the decisionmaking about the resources which they pool with other organizations and in banks, insurance communities and in various self-managing interest communities.

The relations between the workers in material production and those workers who satisfy the needs of the former with their work in the spheres of education, health and other social activities are established within the framework of self-managing interest communities directly and without any mediation by the state. Within these communities they carry out a free exchange of labor and decide on the basis of equality about the volume and the methods of satisfying the needs in these activities as well as about the development of these activities.

It was only as a result of all these changes that conditions have been created for the workers to really become the subjective factor of decisionmaking on all questions of social reproduction and to be really able to prevent any usurpation to their right of decisionmaking by anyone. The income principle makes it possible for the entire system to become economically effective and to insure that in every organization the workers will struggle for as high a labor productivity as possible and as successful business operations in general as possible. Naturally, the relations which we have established will not be realized in practice on their own; this is a long-term process. And the forces which resist this are still active. If the workers are not aware of their power granted them by the constitution and the law on associated labor and if they fail to really take into their own hands the decisionmaking on questions of their work, then these relations may become reduced to formality and the real decisionmaking may be in the hands of various independent centers of economic and political power. For this reason it is extraordinarily important for the organized socialist forces--the League of Communists, the trade unions, the Socialist Alliance and others--to actively and constantly strive for a consistent realization of the socialist self-managing relations. We also adopted clear views on this at the 10th and the 11th LCY Congresses.

The process of changes in the political system took place simultaneously with the development of new production relations. The direction of this development was determined by the deeply democratic character of our revolution. It was based on the experiences of the armed struggle, on the revolutionary democratic essence of the national liberation committees. Through the methods of their formation, their structure and substance of their work these committees were such organs of authority as were wanted by the popular masses because they were in accord with their interests. For this reason, too, the masses considered them as their own authority. This revolutionary democratic character of authority found its full expression during the entire process of perfecting our political system and especially when we introduced socialist self-management.

National Equality Was and Has Remained the Foundation of and the Condition for Our Unity

The changes in this direction proceeded from the fact that the decisionmaking on a series of social affairs, which had been within the range of competence of the state administration, should increasingly be taken over by the working people and citizens through their self-managing organizations and organs. This particularly concerned the sphere of management of social resources, something which has been discussed already.

Naturally, it was not forgotten that during the transitional period the state should continue to act for a long time as the organized authority in certain social affairs. For this reason the development proceeded in the direction of gradually moving the affairs of the organs of authority closer to the direct influence of the working people and citizens. The joint affairs within the federation, the republics and the provinces were constantly being reduced and taken over by communes. The substance of the work and extent of the rights and duties of communes were constantly expanded. The commune gradually became the basic form of organized authority, in the exercise of which the working people and citizens directly participate on the basis of self-management. The development of the communal system also implied the development and deepening of the democratic revolutionary principles on which the national liberation committees were based during the war.

The decentralization of administration was also deepened on the basis of the principles which the party has always advocated--equality in the international relations [sentence as published]. The independence of the republics and provinces was created and this independence also implied their full responsibility for the joint affairs of the federation. This was of great importance for the firmness and stability of our socialist self-managing community. The national equality was and has always remained the foundation of and the condition for our unity. Of course, this is not something that is solved once and for all times; these relations must be constantly supplemented and perfected. The principle of mutual agreements and accords on the basis of equality is closely connected with this. No matter how different the individual interests and especially the individual economic interests may be, past experience shows that they can be most

fully satisfied precisely through democratic coordination and that the awareness of the common interest built in this manner has always prevailed over various particularist and other similar tendencies. We will never make any concessions either to centralism or to particularism in regard to any question including this one.

The character of the organs of authority themselves, too, gradually changed. This was expressed first of all in the constitutional law in 1953 when the Chambers of Producers were created. Then, under the 1963 Constitution, the assemblies became the centers of political decisionmaking; and the 1974 Constitution created the delegate assemblies.

The delegate principle of decisionmaking represents the essence of our new political system. It is implemented in all spheres and at all levels of social decisionmaking, both in the self-managing organs and in the organs of authority. The delegate system enables the workers class and the working people to really become the ruling political and economic force of society. It is through delegations and delegates that politics is becoming a matter of direct practice on the part of the largest masses of the people and of their self-managing organizations, with a difference from those systems in which politics is a monopoly of individuals or of leaderships of political parties or of the state apparatus.

Accordingly, by the position of and the possibilities for the workingman to decide on social affairs, socialist self-managing democracy essentially differs from all other forms of organization of the state which call themselves democratic. It insures the real authority of the workers class and the working masses and as such represents a means for the defense of the revolutionary achievements and for further developing the revolution. It represents a special kind of form of "the organization of the workers class as a state," such as had been predicted by Marx.

Socialist Self-Management is Asserting Itself Increasingly Also as an Economically Effective System

In a word, as a result of the continuous democratic development of our revolution, socialist self-management has become a complete system of socioeconomic and political relations. It expresses the freedom and the inalienable right of the workingman, jointly with other working people, to freely decide on the basis of equality about all questions concerning his life and the social community as a whole and to assume responsibility for this. This social position enables our man to comprehensively develop as a free creative personality, to demonstrate all his creative abilities. Socialist self-management is a valuable experience and achievement by our workers class in the realization of its historical role--of creating a classless society. It is no accident that today self-management is arousing an increasingly greater interest and is becoming the program orientation of many democratic and workers movements and other progressive forces in the world.

Comrades, although there have also been periods of stagnation in the development of the self-managing system since 1950, we can say that in the basic course we have been firm and consistent. Its successful development is primarily the result of the entire activity of the LCY which, as the real revolutionary vanguard of the workers class, has creatively applied the teaching of the classics of Marxism to our conditions.

Socialist self-management is also asserting itself increasingly more completely as an economically effective system. This can best be seen in the results achieved in our postwar material and social development. With its 6.2 percent average annual rate of growth of social product in the 1947-78 period Yugoslavia is one of the countries which has shown the fastest economic growth. In this period the social product increased 6.4 times and per capita by more than four times. These data are particularly important if we bear in mind the fact that we started from the material base inherited from prewar Yugoslavia which was one of the most backward countries of Europe. I will cite only a few of the basic data.

On the eve of the war the agricultural population represented 77 percent of the country's total population. Altogether there were 920,000 employed workers and employees both in the economy and outside, including about 200,000 state employees; this figure of 920,000 represented 6 percent of the total population. One-third of these workers and employees were employed in industry, mainly in small enterprises operating manufacturing equipment. Toward the end of the thirties the average minimum hourly wage amounted to 2 dinars and at the same time the price of 1 kg of bread was 4 dinars, the price of 1 kg of meat was 10 to 15 dinars, the price of 1 kg of sugar was 13 dinars and so forth.

Life was particularly miserable in villages. Agricultural production yields were very low. In the 1930-39 10-year period the yield of bread grain crops amounted to 11 quintals per hectare and corn yields amounted to 16 quintals per hectare. Small landholdings were barely able to produce enough for their own needs and thus agricultural production was mainly subsistence farming and it remained mainly at the level of simple reproduction.

Calculated according to 1977 prices, the per capita social product in 1939 amounted to an annual average of only about 7,000 dinars.

Nor was the situation any better in the areas of education and health. According to the 1931 census, 45 percent of the inhabitants above the age of 10 years were illiterate. Less than 2,500 students graduated annually from all the faculties and higher and high schools. There was one physician for every 3,236 people. The mortality rate was high. The average life span for men was 45 and for women 46 years.

You see then where it was necessary to begin the development in Socialist Yugoslavia and what enormous efforts were necessary in order to achieve what we have today. If we compared our development in the postwar period with the development achieved in the entire world during the same period,

then it becomes apparent that the 1939 level of per capita social product in Yugoslavia was 30 percent below the world average and that today this level in Yugoslavia is about 34 percent above this average.

Industrial growth was particularly rapid within the entire postwar growth of the economy: In the 1947-79 period industrial production grew at an average annual rate of over 9 percent. This means that today industrial production has increased 15 times as compared with 1949 or 18 times as compared with 1939. The growth of agricultural production could not be as rapid as this but very important changes have been made in this field. As compared with the 5-year average achieved in the midfifties, agricultural production has more than doubled. In the social landholdings it is more than several times greater. The yields of the main agricultural crops have been increased several times and have now reached the level of the highest world achievements in this respect.

Significant successes have also been achieved in other economic fields. The development of foreign economic relations must be especially emphasized. In 1978 the volume of foreign trade transactions amounted to over 285 billion new dinars and only 10 years earlier it was five times smaller.

The population structure has also been changing along with this material development. The share of the agricultural population in the country's total population has been reduced from 77 to about 30 percent in the postwar period. Currently the number of all those employed was increased to a total of about 5.5 million and thus they represent more than half of the active population. Thirty-four percent of all employed personnel are women.

The progress achieved in the economic development is also reflected in the noticable improvement of the standard of living. In the last 25 years the real personal spending has increased by more than four times.

The educational level of the population has also been considerably raised. For example, in the year before last, more than 48,000 students graduated from high and higher schools; this is about 20 times more than before the war. The health of the population is constantly improving. Since the war the number of physicians has increased by more than four times. Today the average life span for men is 67 and for women 72 years.

Something Has Already Been Done Since the 11th Congress but More Could and Should Have Been Done

A dynamic development has been achieved in all republics and provinces. Enormous efforts have been made in overcoming the inherited differences in the level of their development. Both the economy and the standard of living of the people in our entire country are at a qualitatively higher level today. The material basis of work and life and the social structure of the population as well as the educational level and the health conditions have been radically changed in all republics and provinces. Yet, despite this, we still face the task of an accelerated development of underdeveloped republics and regions and especially of the Province of Kosovo.

The rapid and radical changes have also been necessarily accompanied by certain difficulties and shortcomings. Nor are we today without problems and difficulties. At the 11th LCY Congress we openly and concretely spoke about this and determined clear tasks. There is no need for me on this occasion to speak exhaustively about this. I only want to point out that we will lose a great deal if we fail to consistently fulfill these tasks. Since the 11th congress something has already been done in this respect but more could and should have been done. We are still facing in all their severity the problems of excessive spending, insufficent reproductive capability of the economy, excessive investment ambitions, rising prices and a negative foreign trade balance. We must be more resolute in solving these problems because if we fail to do this, they will only multiply even more and they can become a serious obstruction to development. Here there are also other shortcomings; there are many unjustified sick leaves and so forth.

To resolve these problems, we need not reduce the achieved level of the standard of living, but we must also not increase it above our capacilities, independently of the increase in productivity.

The decisions on the common and general social expenditures are still most frequently made outside workers in associated lable, although some 40 percent of the national income is spent in this field. I must say that self-management is functioning worst of all in this field. This refers particularly to self-managing interest communities, in which those who allocate funds for social activities do not have a decisive influence.

Excessive investments and the difference between what has been agreed and what is being done cause particular concern. In this connection it is necessary to work in a more planned manner, with more agreements and with a coordination of the investment decisions in the entire associated labor. It is particularly necessary to achieve greater orientation toward a direct association of labor and a pooling of resources between the interested organizations of associated labor, and less toward expensive loans, particularly foreign ones.

When the problems and tasks in the economy are involved I must also mention the problem of employment, particularly of young skilled workers. I have already mentioned the fact that in the postwar period we increased the number of employed by over 4 million, which corresponds to an average annual rate of 5 percent. In recent years this increase totalled over 200,000 annually. This is not a small number. It is sufficient not only to employ the overall increase in the new labor force, particularly of young people graduating from schools, but also a part of those who are now unemployed, including also workers who are returning from temporary employment abroad. We must pay special attention to this problem. We must constantly find new possibilities for employment, including those offered by small economy.

Despite all the successes which we have achieved in developing socialist self-managing democracy, we still cannot be completely satisfied. I believe that we have not yet developed all forms of self-managing democratic

organization and activity which are contained in the Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor and the decisions of the 10th and the 11th LCY congresses. I have in mind primarily the delegate assembly system.

In the last elections, in the spring of 1978, over 545,000 members of delegations and over 53,000 delegates to the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities were elected. When one adds to this the number of members of the workers councils, members of the delegations to the assemblies of the self-managing interest communities then this means that over 1.2 million people are directly involved in political decisionmaking through the delegate system.

However, the delegate manner of decisionmaking has not yet taken deep roots. The practice which suits the old, representative system has not yet been overcome. The view that it is sufficient to send a delegate to an assembly or to some other organ of self-management, and to leave the solving of problems of common interest to him, is still widespread. The influence of bureaucratic and technocratic forces which are distrubed by the self-managing and democratic activity of delegations and delegates is still strong.

On the other hand, the delegate assemblies themselves are not sufficiently widely opened toward other self-managing organs and organizations. With their manner of work the delegate assemblies should become the central part and the backbone of the entire system of socialist democracy. A linkage between the assemblies and other self-managing organs and organizations will prevent a creation of centers of power outside the delegate system. I believe that we can already make new steps forward in the development of self-managing socialist democracy. I have also discussed this problem on other occasions.

The Introduction of Collective Work is of Great Importance for Our Society and the League of Communists

Comrades, on this occasion I wish again to point out some tasks of the League of Communists and of other organized socialist forces in the present period.

The development of self-management implies strengthening the role of the League of Communists as the leading ideopolitical force in society. Its mass character--it now has 1.7 million members--and its young character--considering the average age of its members--demand special efforts in ideopolitical training. Without constant political and theoretical edification, the members of the League of Communists will be unable to find their bearings under the very complicated conditions of internal development and the international situation.

Activities to introduce the principle of collective work in the League of Communists and society as a whole are now in progress; this principle is based on the demand for further democratization of work and relations in all the organs and institutions of the system. This is of great importance for our society and the League of Communists because it should prevent the

occurrences of group forming, careerism and bureaucracy, about which we have already spoken. The principle of collective work implies the development and strengthening of responsibility and democratic relations within the League of Communists. The work of the leaderships and of individuals is not yet sufficiently accessible to a critical appraisal and influences at the grassroots. The circulation of ideas and information should proceed not only from the top down, but also in the opposite direction, which has not yet occurred sufficiently. What is also needed is a much greater exchange of experiences among the several basic organizations, the several communes, provinces, republics and so forth. It is obvious that everybody has his own responsibilities and tasks in his own community, but there has been too much separation through various boundaries.

Of course, in the future we must continue to be consistent to the League of Communists implementing its role with ideopolitical activities through mass sociopolitical organizations and organs of self-management. The party must be armed with scientific truth so that it may exert its ideopolitical influence. The guarantee for a real unity of the country lies, above all, in the degree of consciousness and unity of the League of Communists, in the workers class and in the degree of consciousness and unity of all organized working masses. This has always been demonstrated, and particularly in crisis situations both in the distant and in the recent past. For this reason we must guard this unity as the apple of our eye, for there are still various enemies who are trying to break it.

Speaking about self-management, I must point out that there are many instances of differences between the norm and the practice. Both bureaucratic and technocratic resistence to the implementation of our self-managing system is present. In some places, small groups hiding behind alleged self-managing forms hold in their hands all the strings of decision-making, putting self-managing organs, assemblies and delegations before a fait accompli. Often one criticizes unknown culprits instead of those who have sponsored decisions circumventing the self-managing road.

We must never lose sight of the fact that the League of Communists bears the moral and political responsibility for a successful functioning of socialist self-management, for the unity and for the entire development of our country. The League of Communists must be criticial both toward social practice and toward its own work.

Under the new conditions, the Socialist Alliance continues the traditions of the people's front. It is within the Socialist Alliance that the political initiatives, especially those concerning self-managing agreements and accords, must be developed and directed in a democratic way. This also applies to many other social actions of interest to our citizens. Through its representatives, the Socialist Alliance actively participates in delegate assemblies. In this way it keeps conversant with the ideological and political problems and preoccupations of the working people and at the same time it is able to follow the functioning of the system itself and to make concrete contributions to its implementation.

Progress of Our Self-Managing System Can be Insured Only Through Conscious Action

In connection with the need for a more successful work of the Socialist Alliance, I wish to point out the following: The Socialist Alliance organizations should, to a greater extent, concern themselves with everyday problems of the working people and citizens, such as questions of the standard of living, supply and housing, the work of service activities and the like. In addition, the activities of the Socialist Alliance forums which are constantly apparent in practice and in public--which is a good thing--can never replace the activities of the basis of society, which are not felt sufficiently. It is also necessary that the Socialist Alliance should further develop the internal democratic relations and that it be open to all who are in favor of socialism and self-management.

The Trade Union Federation has gained in public prestige through its involvement and the results achieved in the development of self-management. The existence of the various interests which we are talking about is manifested every day in the work organizations and at other levels. These various interests should be coordinated through political and other means. Most frequently it is a matter of conflicts of interests about distribution according to work, of a tendency to equalitarianism or of unjustified differences in incomes. Instances of the lack of understanding the long-term need to associate labor and pool resources demonstrate the extent to which different positions and interests influence the behavior of people. I also have in mind the technobureaucratic attempts at usurping the self-managing rights of workers. In our society we must also pay attention to the need for mutual solidarity of the working people. It is not enough that the system in itself is humane. It is only through conscious action and persistent efforts that one can insure the progress of our self-managing system in which the Trade Union Federation plays a very important role. This role should primarily be felt at the grassroots, in the basic organizations of associated labor.

In the long revolutionary period which we are marking today, women have made a contribution worthy of respect. The period was at the same time one of a rapid social emancipation of women.

Over 100,000 women were among the fighters in our national liberation war. Their participation in the pre-war period of underground activities is also well known. Cases of such participation of women in a revolutionary struggle are rare in history.

The role of women in society has increased, particularly since women are increasingly producers and self-managers, too.

Along with the general transformation of the country, the social position of women has also changed. This is exemplified by the number of employed women as well as by their participation in self-managing and other organs and the delegate assmeblies. Although we cannot yet be satisfied at all in this respect, the communists are not always sufficiently aware of the social

necessity and importance of the women's organization. Women have great obligations and responsibilities, both social and family ones. With their views and their example, the communists should lead in the struggle for an even greater social and political activation of women and an affirmation of their social role. This implies the taking of the necessary measures to ease the position of women, especially the employed ones.

We Continue the Revolution in Which the Present Stage Is No Less Important Than the Preceeding Ones

The achievements in the economic development of the country, the deep changes in the social structure, the opportunities for mass education and other things have opened secure prospects for the future to our youth. The Socialist Youth Federation with over 3 million members plays a great social role. Young people aged 14 to 27 constitute one-fourth of the population of Yugoslavia. The youth organization which is to organize them is therefore even more important. Great shortcomings exist especially as regards the organizing of the youth in the countryside.

It is our duty to encourage the working and creative socialist orientation of our youth. Labor actions, emerging in the liberation war and widely developed after the war, continue to constitute an irreplaceable aspect of working involvement and socialist education of youth.

However, we must pay more attention to the ideopolitical education of our youth. This is demanded by the more and more voluminous tasks of the further building of our self-managing society, in which the obligations and responsibilities of youth are growing. In addition, the situation in the world is serious and complex. The present young generations are unfortunately still victims of wars, racial segregation, vestiges of colonialism and warlike ideologies. The young people must know that in the world today there are many delusions and many lies, and that powerful propaganda frequently serves dishonorable aims. It is particularly important that youth learn how to appreciate the value of the life of man in self-managing socialist society and that they know how dearly we paid for our freedom and independence.

Of course, the care for the education of the young generations does not rest with the Socialist Youth Federation alone. The League of Communists cannot successfully implement its role as vanguard unless it develops its work in the masses, above all among the young. We continue the revolution in which the present stage is no less important than the preceding ones. The present young generation is itself a creator of revolutionary achievements which will serve as an example to the future generations.

Big problems and revolutionary aims which we must solve and attain are still ahead of us. Among the youth, we must develop a more critical awareness toward various conservative and reactionary concepts, dogmatic and other alien influences which are still rather frequent. Therefore I am putting particular stress on the ideological and political training of the youth.

I also want to remind you on this occasion again that the defense of the achievements of the socialist revolution and the safeguarding of a peaceful socialist self-managing development has been a constant task of the League of Communists in the post-war period. Unfortunately, we have been frequently exposed to attempts of interfernece in our internal development. Any deterioration of the international situation in any part of the world necessarily affects the security of our country and of every other country.

Therefore the construction of our defense system has been one of the very important strategic problems of our socialist self-managing society. We have built a system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. We have proceeded in this from the rich experiences of the liberation war; from the self-managing nature of the Yugoslav community of equal peoples and nationalities; from the nature of contemporary international relations; from the characteristic features of contemporary wars, combat equipment and armaments; and from our combat traditions in the long historical period. At the basis of our defense system, Marx's idea about the armed people is permeated with the concrete socioeconomic conditions under which our socialist self-managing society is developing. In the unified system of all-people's defense, the backbone of which is provided by the Yugoslav People's Army, the maximum involvement of all the social forces of our country, both human and material, is insured and this increases our defense power several times over.

In the case of aggression against our country, several million people with arms in their hands would oppose the attacker, and all the remaining able-bodied people would be included in activities in organizing and providing armed resistance. All the working people and citizens, associated labor organizations, self-managing interest communities, local communities, sociopolitical communities and social organizations are included in all-people's defense social self-protection. The SFRY, its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence would be defended by all its people, all our peoples and nationalities. A possible aggressor, whoever he may be, has no chance of attaining his goals.

Yugoslavia is an independent and peaceful country. We do not threaten anybody's independence and we have no territorial pretensions. We remain firmly attached to the view that all the problems which appear in international relations must be solved in peaceful ways. We are against war. But if a war is imposed on us, we will know how to defend and how to protect our country and our social system.

III.

The Nonalined Policy Has Proceeded and Proceeds From the Basic Historical Tendency of Our Time.

Comrades, I would like to say something on this occasion about our policy in international relations. From the very beginning of the establishment of new new Yugoslavia, this policy has borne the democratic marks of our revolution--that is, it has manifested the aspirations of the people for peace, freedom, independence and equitable cooperation and against enslavement and domination of any kind.

The party has always proceeded from the fact that the struggle for our people's national and social liberation is firmly linked with the struggle for freedom and independence of all peoples and countries and their struggle for social progress everywhere in the world. Therefore, the basic goals and principles for which our country and the LCY are fighting in international relations are not merely in line with the interests of our nations and nationalities, but also with the broadest forces of peace, democracy and social progress--the interests of the entire international community.

Therefore, Yugoslavia and the LCY have for decades been in the front ranks of the struggle for peace, international understanding and cooperation, for democratic political and economic relations in the world. Our country is active and consistent in its solidarity with revolutionary and liberation struggles and with the struggle for the national and social emanicipation of peoples. The LCY has been waging a persistent struggle for many years to see that different paths are respected and that this becomes the legitimate law of the world process of socialism. It has also been struggling for equitable relations in the workers and the entire progressive movement, and for the understanding of peaceful coexistence as an irreplaceable condition not merely for world peace but also for the progress of socialism in the world.

We believe that such an orientation in international relations and in the workers movement represents a way which insures the most favorable international conditions for the peaceful, independent and comprehensive development of our society in line with our democratic and humanist vision of socialism.

The independent and nonalined policy of our country and the LCY has proceeded and is proceeding from the historical tendency of our times--from the interests of the struggle of peoples and of progressive social forces for liberation from political and economic dependence and for social progress. Such a policy has proven to be historically correct and has been confirmed in practice.

In a world divided into blocs and in which attempts are still made to resolve social, economic and political contradictions through the policy of force and foreign intervention, it has not been at all easy to carry out such a policy, and it is not easy today, either. We have been continually exposed to various pressures and attempts to make us submit to a policy not in the interests of our country and our movement. We have been and still are deeply convinced that the policy of bloc divisions cannot resolve a single fundamental problem of the world, nor can it provide prospects for the democratization of international relations for which the nonalined countries are fighting. Therefore, the policy of nonalinement, of which we were one of the initiators, represents our lasting orientation.

The world today is marked by very deep and dynamic social upheavals. What is characteristic of all of them is the aspiration for the emancipation of peoples and countries and the creation of democratic international relations and social progress in general.

Although it has been shown on numerous occasions that the will of the people for independence, comprehensive emancipation and free development cannot be halted, there are still those who do not see or do not want to see that people are no longer ready to accept foreign domination. It is precisely the opposition to these aspirations of the people that represents the chief source of international tension and conflicts. The resistance by reactionary and conservative forces to inevitable progressive changes is manifested in various forms, but their essence is the same: To preserve or to impose relations of dependence.

The chief cause of negative events in international relations lies in what the forces of imperialism, colonialism and all other forms of domination and oppression do today when they attack the independence of countries and call peace in the world into question. One of the greatest dangers today are attempts to use the historically necessary social transformations, the struggle of the peoples for liberation, the problems in mutual relations among individual countries and so forth for bloc rivalry or for shifting the borders of spheres of influence by blocs and great powers in general. A particular danger in this is to resort to military action as well as attempts to gain one position or another by force and by external interference or intervention. Were such practices to be legalized, people would be left entirely at the mercy of the strongest, and the world would find itself on the brink of catastrophe.

Dangers for world peace have been increasing recently. The process of the relaxation of international tension is stagnating. The crisis situations in the world are not being resolved and even more explosive ones are being created. The arms race continues. The problems of international economic relations are not being resolved. What is more, the international economic situation is getting worse. The gap between developing and developed countries continues to widen. All of this carries the danger of new international shocks and conflicts with unforeseeable consequences. In a nutshell, the entire existing system of international economic and political relations is experiencing a crisis.

Therefore, international relations must be changed in a direction which would contribute to the consolidation of the independence and equality of peoples. This must be the commitment not merely of the broadest circle of countries fighting for peace and equitable international cooperation, but also of all progressive and democratic political and social forces, parties and movements in all countries. Above all it is necessary to insure strict respect for the genuine independence of all peoples, their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for all rights which stem from the UN Charter. Particular effort should be made to see that the historical interests for peace and cooperation among independent, equitable countries overcome the tendencies toward domination and the division of the world into blocs. This is the only way to avoid the dangers of international conflicts and to insure the real national interests of all peoples.

It is precisely in the struggle for peace and progressive changes in today's international economic and political relations that the activity of nonalined countries is becoming increasingly significant. Today the nonalined movement represents an irreplaceable factor which insures world peace and the development of international cooperation. In the documents of their conferences, the nonalined countries have developed the prospects and charted the paths for stable peace and the democratization of international relations.

Therefore, it is our conviction that the interests of the working class and the broadest strata of the working people cannot be separated from the goals for which the nonalined countries are fighting. This is the reason why a growing number of countries of various social systems and varying degrees of development as well as progressive and democratic social and political forces in the world are orientating themselves toward these goals today.

Understandably, the policy of nonalinement is not in line with bloc interests. Therefore, the nonalined movement is exposed to growing pressures. But, despite all of the pressures and despite the problems which a movement of such breadth and such far-reaching goals necessarily faces, its historical role is becoming increasingly significant. Thus, although some of the members of the movement are unable to realize their more narrow interests within the framework of the movement, they still feel the need to belong to it. Deviations from the general course made at times by some individual nonalined countries cannot fundamentally threaten its strength and value.

In present-day international conditions, it is necessary to fight as persistently as possible to see that the basic, and generally accepted, principles and goals of the nonalined movement are manifested as fully as possible in the foreign policy practice of all nonalined countries. This will contribute to the greatest possible extent to the consolidation of the unity and ability for action of the movement. And this unity has to be preserved.

The nonalined countries are preparing now for the new conference of heads of state or government. They face many concrete tasks, the solution of which is of great significance for the further development of international relations as a whole. To truly succeed in this, I think that we must do everything possible to see that divisions and disputes on ideological and other foundations which are alien to the nonalined policy are not caused in the nonalined movement. Such disputes could be very dangerous for the movement. All of us in the movement bear a great responsibility--for all people of the world and for history--to continue to strengthen the policy of nonalinement and preserve the unity of the movement.

The genuine revolutionary content of the nonalined policy consists precisely in the struggle against all aspects of political and economic domination, against all, both old and new, forms of dependence in relations between states and peoples. The Colombo conference stressed that only those people who dispose of their natural resources and the fruits of their work in a sovereign manner are truly free.

The interests of nonalinement cannot be identified with more narrow, or bloc, interests either. The nonalined countries oppose this, just as they oppose the pressure on them to aline themselves in one way or another into blocs. The criteria for assessing the international activity of a country can only be whether a country--and to what extent--contributes to the consolidation of peace and the genuine independence of people and their emancipation and social progress. There can be no other criteria, ideological or otherwise, in the nonalined movement.

The nonalined movement objectively strengthens the awareness of this. It also strengthens those social forces in the world which believe that existing contradictions can be resolved only on the basis of equitable relations and cooperation among all people. It is on this basis that the nonalined countries have been implementing up to now a high degree of unity. Thus, the nonalined movement cannot be divided into "progressive" and "conservative" countries, nor can it be reduced to someone's political "reserve." The movement is one of the fundamental independent factors of the progressive social transformation of the world in our times.

The movement of the nonalined countries exerted a decisive influence on the overcoming of the cold war situation and on the setting in motion of the process of the relaxation of international tension. After all, the principles of nonalinement are present in the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, which confirmed that these principles are in line with the interests of all countries. The significant role played in the process of relaxation by the nonalined and neutral countries of Europe should also be stressed.

Relaxation is the only way leading to the consolidation of peace, equitable cooperation and security in Europe. In this way, it goes without saying, conditions are also being created for the settlement of other international problems through negotiations and agreement. Relaxation is the precondition for more rapid social progress by people in general because it creates broader possibilities for democratic cooperation and the more rapid release of potentials which contribute to the emancipation of people.

We, however, together with other nonalined countries, have been pointing out from the very beginning that this process must not be reduced to the settling of relations between the blocs. In that case, nothing would essentially be changed. The process of relaxation, unfortunately, has been stagnating for some time. One of the main reasons certainly lies in the fact that detente is restricted to relations between the most powerful powers and blocs and that it has not spread to all regions of the world and to all spheres of international relations, and that some countries have not accepted the essential aims of the relaxation of tension and have, therefore, not worked for their implementation. In addition, some have considered it to be a favorable opportunity to expand their own spheres of influence and interests. What is therefore necessary is to make fresh efforts to have the relaxation of international tension revived and turned into a universal world process.

In the same vein, it is high time that real negotiations on disarmament began. The existing talks, in fact, are still reduced merely to the determining of the upper limits of armaments. With their initiatives and efforts, the nonalined countries have achieved a start to the process of political discussions and negotiations on disarmament issues on a democratic basis at the United Nations. This path should be continued and there should be a struggle for general and complete disarmament.

The issue of the more rapid development of insufficiently developed countries, above all through equitable economic and other types of cooperation, should also be resolved without delay. What they do not need is the so-called aid through which they are "generously" given some insignificant portion of that which is being taken away from them through the present system of international relations. Therefore, it is high time that this obsolete system be changed, because a new international economic order--including a fundamental reform of international credit and monetary institutions--is in the interests of all countries, both the developed and the developing.

It is necessary to break away from the approach to the resolving of crisis hotbeds in the world which proceeds, above all, from the interests of one power or another, from the interests of one group of states or another, as is done today in the Middle East, or southern Africa. The settlement of such hotbeds must be approached from the point of view of the interests of the directly involved states and peoples as well as of the liberation movements--from the point of view of the interests of the entire international community. Only such a way can insure a lasting solution to existing problems.

Our country and the LCY have always resolutely advocated that issues involving conflict between states be resolved by peaceful means. However, armed clashes, wars and interventions--which rudely violate the sovereignty of peoples and threaten peace and international security--international relations.

The latest events in Southeast Asia have generated profound anxiety in our country. In accordance with the stable and principled orientation of our foreign policy, we have adopted a clear and consistent standpoint with regard to these events. We have sought an immediate cessation of armed clashes, the withdrawal of military units from the territory of other states and the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means on the basis of strict respect for the principles of sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and the right of every people to decide for itself on matters of foreign and domestic policy.

I should like to mention one thing here: Untruths are being spread abroad, especially in the East, that Yugoslavia is involved in some kind of alliance with China and that Yugoslavia is giving arms, etc. to China. On the other hand, there are those--for instance the papers in the West--who say that Yugoslavia has gotten into a conflict with many countries, both in the West and in the East, and that for this reason it has been greatly weakened. In some countries, people are writing and saying that we are silent

on the military interventions in Kampuchea, Vietnam and Uganda. None of this is true. Even before these conflicts occurred, I sent messages both to Kampuchea and Vietnam, and then to Chairman Hua Guofeng. I also sent messages to Presidents Nyerere and Amin. And on every occasion I asked that firing be stopped at once, that troops be withdrawn from foreign territories and that the parties negotiate clamly around a table and not wage war.

You see, some people outside the country would like to discredit us at any cost. Therefore, we must constantly be vigilant and on our guard so that we can frustrate such speculations and those who would slander Yugoslavia.

In this we have always proceeded from the firm conviction that there is nothing in the world in whose name anyone can deprive a people of its freedom and independence. The violation of a people's sovereignty--whoever might do this in the name of whatever goals--represents a violation of the basic norms of international life and directly jeopardizes peaces and security in the world. There can be neither durable peace nor genuine social progress without consistent respect for all the principles of the UN Charter concerning relations between states.

These principles must, of course, also be respected in relations between the socialist countries. To impose one's will on other peoples more or less by force of arms is to inflict irreparable harm on the cause of socialism. War which is not of a defensive character, as well as military interventions, must not be a means used by socialist countries. We have never reconciled ourselves to the idea that socialism can be expanded by means of war or to theories which suggest that power can be assumed after a world war, and the like. Such ideas and any practices are alien to socialism. We shall, therefore, continue to decisively oppose all trends in this direction.

At the height of the struggle against Cominform pressure, our party raised many issues which were of vital importance for socialism. The democratic principles governing relations and cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR--and also between the LCY and the CPSU--were clearly formulated as far back as the Belgrade declaration of 1955 and the Moscow statement of 1956. These documents stress that mutual relations must be built on consistent respect for the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, equality and noninterference, and on the principles of mutual respect for differing paths to socialism. It is upon these principled bases that we shall continue to further develop all-round cooperation between our two countries and parties.

In relations within the communist and workers movement there are certain tendencies to call into question even those democratic legacies which the communist parties of Europe expressed in the Berlin conference document. We cannot be reconciled to this. We think it is necessary to go further: To develop and enrich that which has been achieved and coordinated and not to allow a retrogressive step to be taken.

Communist and workers parties cannot realize their historic role unless they are guided by responsiblity toward their own working class and people. No one outside can make a communist party a leading national force; it can only become such by itself, by its own activity in its own country. It is for this reason that we emphasize so strongly that relations between communist parties should be based on the principles of equality, independence, non-interference, mutual respect and cooperation regardless of any differences that may exist. Respect for these principles is an essential prerequisite for the progress of socialism in the world.

We consider it to be a very positive fact that in recent years there is, in a considerable number of communist parties, a strengthening of the awareness of the need to sum up their own experience, to engage in a critical reappraisal of this experience and to undertake a creative search for further paths in the struggle for socialism. These phenomena encourage us in our own efforts to build socialism in our country and to realize equal cooperation between communist, workers and all progressive parties and movements in the world.

Yugoslavia aspires to an all-round development of relations with all countries of the world on the same principled basis. In our approach to these relations we are consistently guided by the principles of non-alinement, by the provisions of the UN Charter and by the obligations deriving from the Final Act of the Helsinki conference.

It is thanks to just such a policy that our country has achieved significant results in its cooperation with neighboring countries. We enjoy well-developed and all-round relations of mutual benefit with the majority of our neighbors. On the whole, I believe that the prospects for further promoting these relations are very good. We have achieved in our cooperation with some of these countries the kind of results that can serve as models.

Unfortunately, this is not the case in our relations with all our neighbors. Some moments in the policy of Bulgaria have recently aroused serious anxiety for the future of Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations. The actions of the Bulgarian side are in direct contradiction to their statements on their willingness to cooperate with our country. These actions are directed precisely toward exacerbating the differences in our viewpoints, at hindering the settlement of existing problems and aggravating relations with our country.

There is no other way to understand the meaning behind the negation of the socio-historic existence of the Macedonian nation. The negation of the Macedonian nationality in Bulgaria has led to the negation of the legality of one of our sovereign republics. We ask what is meant by calling into question the legacy of our revolution and the constitutional bases of the Yugoslav federation. What are the aims of such a policy? Where is it leading and in whose interest is it? There is no doubt that such a policy has had a damaging influence on relations in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. History is quite illustrative in this respect.

I wish to take this opportunity to underline that we have never and do not have any territorial pretensions against any neighbor. I also wish to recall anew that at the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe I stated that Yugoslavia respects the principle of the inviolability of borders and that I consider this principle to be equally incumbent on us, on our neighbors and on all other countries.

The experience we have gained so far has demonstrated that there are no problems that cannot be resolved through mutual good will. We do not, therefore, abandon the conviction that solutions can be found, on a principled and constructive basis, to the problems of Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations. As we have done up until now, we proceed from the conviction that the development of cooperation in all spheres is the path that leads to the solution of problems and to a strengthening of trust and good-neighborly relations between our countries.

We have always proceeded from the fact that national minorities must serve as a bond of friendship and understanding between neighboring countries and that their unhindered development contributes to strengthening mutual cooperation as a whole. We have always advocated this. It is well-known that all nationalities in our country enjoy all civil rights. The principle of complete national equality represents one of our basic legacies and stands as an essential value of our revolution. We have been and will continue to be guided by this principle in our policy, both on the domestic and international level.

Proceeding from all this we feel that the problems pertaining to the position and rights of nationalities can be successfully resolved only in conditions of flourishing good-neighborly cooperation. And the more successful this is, the better relations between neighbors and the more developed their cooperation will be.

Our relations and cooperation with neighboring Socialist Albania are developing fairly well. We believe that there are opportunities for the further promotion of equal cooperation, which is undoubtedly in our mutual interest. We have often pointed to the mutual interest of the peoples of our two countries in preserving and strengthening their independence, autonomy and right to their own path of development and life. Proceeding from this, the peoples of our countries have a deep interest in consolidating peace and security in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean.

Our country takes a great interest in the development of all-round democratic cooperation and in the strengthening of security in Europe. We enjoy well developed economic relations with all European countries and we are exerting efforts to make these even more comprehensive in nature.

Bearing in mind the good experience gained through cooperation in those issues involving security and peace in Europe, we wish in particular to continue such cooperation with the neutral countries of Europe.

Our country and the LCY enjoy well developed and extremely good relations today with nearly all countries and all progressive and democratic parties and movements in the world. We shall continue, on our part, to try to promote such relations further.

Comrades: By all that our movement and our revolution have gone through and accomplished, and by all that they are today, they have assumed a worthy place in the history of the liberation struggles and socialist revolutions.

Even in that difficult time nearly 40 years ago when our country was occupied and torn asunder, when the whole of Europe was enslaved and the world found itself in the nightmare of fascist military conquests, we, the communists of Yugoslavia, together with all progressive and patriotic forces of our country, launched a decisive struggle which demanded the ultimate in self-denial and huge sacrifices, but which earned for our peoples the merit and respect of the international community.

We relied on our own forces, accepting no one's suggestion that we should keep silent and wait. We did not work out our strategy in offices but in actions and offensives. Stage by stage we began and finally liberated our country. By our own forces, without underestimating the aid of others, the extent of which is well known, we fought for and won liberty and independence, and established the firm foundations of our new social order.

It is clear that after the war, too, no one else's dictates could be imposed on such nations and people; nor will anyone ever succeed in doing so. (lengthy applause)

Those who still cherish the illusion that Yugoslavia's position can be changed by propaganda campaigns, various pressures and threats should know that nothing will make this country and people vacillate. (lengthy applause) Socialist, self-managing and nonalined Yugoslavia, though a small country in the political, military and economic sense, is able and ready to oppose every possible attack on the legacies that we have created.

Every generation, and especially those to come, must always bear in mind the great lessons of our long years of revolutionary struggle. One of the most basic of these lessons lies in the fact that the revolution will be victorious only if it has deep roots in and firm support among the popular masses; only if the revolutionary avant-garde is inseparably linked with the working class and all working people; and only if it truly reflects their direct and long-term interests.

The leading ideopolitical force must thereby be responsible to its working class and people. And there are no "higher aims" that can push this responsibility into the background. It is well known, for the rest, how this was reflected even in our party when it relied on directives from outside and until it turned its face toward the interests of its own class and people. Only the party that represents the genuine aspirations of its people is fit to manifest true solidarity with all progressive movements and forces.

The entire course of the long path that we have followed has been strewn with difficulties, delays and hindrances created for us by others and by the mistakes that we ourselves have made. But this path was and remains in its essence the correct and an illustrious one. Thus we have been able to achieve the radical transformation of our country and--which is even more important--of our people. We have followed the path of self-management and direct socialist democracy--a path that places the working man at the center of social relations--as producer and citizen--and his role and position in society.

Our revolution must remain the same as it has always been: Unshakable in its basic orientations, humane in its efforts to constantly expand the scope of human freedom and irreconcilable to those who would wish to threaten its legacies and turn aside its trends.

It is our duty to take this opportunity to express our recognition of those generations in the past who did not spare themselves, who truly served the goals of the revolution. We should recall, with the most profound gratitude, all the revolutionaries and fighters who gave everything, even their lives, for that which we have today.

Comrades: our party--and this we can underline with pride--has honorably fulfilled its historic debt to the working class, the working people, nations and nationalities of our country, and to the socialist, liberation, progressive and democratic forces in the world. Thus it will be in the future, too!

At the conclusion of President Tito's address, lengthy applause broke out in the Sava Center Congress Hall.

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